

APPROVED FOR RELEASE: 2007/02/08: CIA-RDP82-00850R000100020038-7

27 FEBRUARY 1979

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JPRS L/8293

27 February 1979

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
(FOUO 2/79)

EAST

EUROPE

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Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS L/8293	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, (FOUO 2/79)		5. Report Date 27 February 1979																			
7. Author(s)		6.																			
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.																			
		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.																			
		11. Contract/Grant No.																			
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered																			
		14.																			
15. Supplementary Notes																					
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																					
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> East Germany</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>				<input type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> East Germany		<input type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
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<input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia																					
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms																					
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																					
18. Availability Statement For Official Use Only. Limited Number of Copies Available From JPRS.		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 39																		
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price																		

FORM NTIS-35 (REV. 3-72)

THIS FORM MAY BE REPRODUCED

USCOMM-DC 14952-P72

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JPRS L/8293

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHANGES, IMPROVEMENTS IN ARMY UNIFORMS DESCRIBED

Prague LIDOVA ARMADA in Czech No 25, 1978 pp 1092-1093

[Article by Col Eng Frantisek Roubal, candidate for doctor of science:
"Changes in Attire of CSLA Soldiers"]

[Text] Fulfillment of the challenging tasks of safeguarding the defensive capacity of the CSSR and further increasing the fighting strength of the Czechoslovak People's Army demands, among other things, that the citizens of our state correctly understand its place and mission in the defense of the socialist homeland and in the fight for peace, that they have all-round confidence in it and support it in fulfilling its challenging tasks and its responsible mission in society.

To this end, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, at its meeting on 28 April 1978, adopted a resolution "Toward the Raising of the Level of Military Propaganda and a More Effective Popularization of the CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army] in Society." Besides realizing the expressed goals of CPCZ military policy, this document follows the strengthening of the social significance of the mission of CSLA members, especially of professional soldiers, the evaluation of the performance of military service as a most honorable duty and the increased appeal of a military profession, above all for young people. Members of the CSLA influence the views of the civilian public concerning our army first and foremost by the results of their work, by fulfilling the tasks of combat and political training, by disciplined conduct, by their help to the national economy and by active participation in public and political life. The outward appearance of soldiers, a significant component of which is the uniform, also has its place here.

A good standard of attire of the soldiers of the Czechoslovak People's Army is one of the important factors which influences their moral and political condition, affects military discipline, creates the basis for their outward appearance and influences the relationship of the public to the army.

In the past our army instituted various well-founded changes in the attire of its members. At the present time there is an apparent need to contribute to a still greater strengthening of uniform and military discipline,

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to further accentuate membership in the Czechoslovak People's Army and the differentiation between the ranks. It also appears expedient to make the attire of our soldiers more uniform with that of the soldiers of the other Warsaw Pact countries, obviously while retaining national elements and traditions.

The army command therefore decided, on the basis of an analysis in which the special and commanding organs participated, to carry out the changes which are set forth in RMNO [Order by the Minister of National Defense] No 7/1978.

On generals' uniforms, colored stripes and edging on the trousers are being introduced (red for the land forces, blue for the air force). On the collars of their uniform shirt will be placed embroidered linden sprigs instead of the presently used metal insignia. On the caps there will likewise be colored edging, embroidered linden sprigs and an insignia accentuated in plastic.

On officers' and ensigns' uniforms, colored edging on the trousers and caps (red for the land forces, blue for the air force) is being introduced, as well as an insignia accentuated in plastic on the cap and new types of chinstraps on the caps of the service uniform (yellow for higher officers, plain for lower officers and white, plain for ensigns). On the collars of their service uniforms will be placed the appropriate differentiating emblems.

Likewise, on the uniforms of the female officers and ensigns there will be colored edging on the trousers, an insignia accentuated in plastic on the cap or beret, and the appropriate differentiating emblems on the collars of the blouses of the service uniforms.

The changes mentioned will be achieved in the manufacture of new uniforms and by altering the current uniforms by 1 January 1980 for generals and before 30 April 1980 for professional servicemen and women in garrison in Prague and Bratislava and for divisions and units scheduled for the May review in those garrisons. For the remaining professional servicemen and women the changes will be carried out before 31 December 1980.

In this way, implementation of the approved changes will be achieved in the short period of one year. The first presentation en masse of members of the Czechoslovak People's Army in the new uniform will occur within the framework of the commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army at the military review in Prague and Bratislava.

Besides the aforementioned changes, which concern the accentuation of uniforms of professional soldiers, several further special-purpose uniform accessories are being changed. The goal is a further improvement in the provisioning of our army in peacetime and in field conditions.

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Beginning 1 May 1978, trousers of an athletic cut and shirts with an epaulet and necktie (with a fastening clasp) were introduced. At the present time their design is being improved so that the shirt doesn't tuck up at the waist, and a more suitable material with minimal wrinkling is being developed as well. At the same time, the long-range design of the summer attire is being investigated.

To further improve the professional soldiers' provisioning in winter conditions, winter boots are being introduced into the equipment beginning 1 January 1979 for generals and 1 January 1980 for officers and ensigns. Likewise, beginning 1 January 1980 professional soldiers will wear a service belt with a single breast strap on the service uniform.

The present dress and service uniforms for professional soldiers are completely satisfactory in their manufacture and color. A gradual improvement in the quality of the fabrics in these uniforms is being achieved. The task will be experimentally completed before the end of this year. The service uniform of generals since June has been manufactured from improved fabric. The dress and summer uniforms and service coats for generals will be produced from a new fabric beginning 1 April 1979. For officers and ensigns the fabric for service uniforms and coats will be gradually introduced into production during the course of 1979. The design of the uniforms is being improved as well; for example, a slit was introduced and the length of the shirt and width of the trousers were adjusted. Beginning in January 1979, shoes will be produced in two widths, and a lengthening of the sole and heel life is being prepared.

The dress uniform for soldiers on active duty, including the dress coat, has proven itself completely. It is well designed and the material is properly chosen, even from the standpoint of our national economy. Only the contemporary headgear--a forage cap or a beret (besides the traditional red one of members of the parachute troops)--does not fulfill all the requirements and is often the cause of the unsatisfactory outward appearance of the soldiers. Therefore, RMNO No 8/77 introduces as a component of the dress uniform for active duty soldiers a round cap, with a deadline for wearing it set at 1 October 1979. A white shirt has also proved itself as a supplement to the dress uniform. However, because it is not included in the equipment of a soldier, soldiers on active duty until the present time could only wear their own shirts. Therefore, RMNO No 8/77 is expanding the accessories (of the first equipment of a soldier) by one white shirt beginning 1 October 1979. By means of the measures adopted, the dress uniform of soldiers on active duty will, in essence, be completed.

With the accentuation of the uniforms for professional soldiers, the introduction of several new uniform accessories and the improvement of the quality of several types of fabrics in the manufacture of uniforms, the first stage of changes in the attire of members of the Czechoslovak People's Army will be concluded.

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Concurrently, within the framework of the second stage, a new field attire for the troops is being developed. The manufacture of the present field uniform was initiated as far back as before 1960. Our army was one of the first to purposefully utilize a special field uniform. After it had been in use for some time, on the basis of comments from the troops and our own knowledge, several adjustments were gradually made. Their aim was to make the uniform less bulky and to increase its permeability. However, in spite of the improvements achieved, especially in design, the field uniform still does not meet the current and even less the long-range needs of the troops. Among its main shortcomings is that it picks up dirt easily, which necessitates frequent dry cleaning, and this gives rise to inconsistent impregnation and great flocculation of the fabric. Furthermore, it lacks permeability as a result of the thickness of the fabric and the impregnant used, particularly pyrofix (a nonflammable treatment). The cap is not pleasing in appearance, the trousers pull out of the boots and the jacket is heavy. The design is not suitable, especially for tank crews and several other specialists. Not even the boots meet the current challenging requirements. Besides taking a long time to put on, their resistance to wetness and insufficient thermal insulation have drawn adverse comments.

Therefore, on the basis of a thorough analysis and legitimate suggestions, the development of a new field attire was begun. Here we are guided by the wealth of experience of the other friendly armies, especially by the conclusions adopted at the first conference of the special organs of the uniform service of the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries, held this year in Prague.

At the present time, control tests are still being run on the new field uniform; mass tests will be conducted in 1979 and 1980. This second stage, involving composite field attire and including the placing of equipment and everything necessary for the provisioning of soldiers in the field, should be completed before 1982.

The measures implemented in the sphere of field attire and the further improvement in the quality of the uniform accessories and the external accentuation of the uniforms emanate both from our current and long-range production possibilities and from the position of our army in society. It must be expected that the realization of the approved measures in the accentuation of military uniforms will be accepted positively by the members of the army and our public as expedient and desirable measures.

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POLAND

WEST GERMAN REPORTAGE ON ELECTION OF POLISH POPE

Reactions of Romans

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Oct 78 p 3

[Text] The Romans are slowly regaining their composure. On this Tuesday morning they say "all right" to their new bishop, who was still an unknown cardinal from a foreign land the day before. "Perhaps he is a little stern," comments the owner of a fashion store on the Via Veneto, the Roman street of splendor which has lost some of its glitter but still remains the beloved strolling boulevard for Italians and foreigners. "But a certain hardness is also needed for this office," adds a lady customer while she looks at her new dress in the mirror. "John Paul II is not so 'sweet,' not so lovable as the first," comments another lady, "but he looks like a shepherd. He will carry on his office well."

Outside in the cafes, Romans and tourists sit in the sun and know of only one topic: a foreigner on the papal seat of Rome. Young men hold the paper in their hands, one reading aloud something about the life of Cardinal Wojtyla, that he earned the money for his studies as a laborer. "He knows the problems of the poor," one points out, satisfied. But the other persists: "Rome belongs to an Italian!" "But"--interrupts his friend--"when our cardinals are worthless, when none of the great lords from Torino or Milan, and primarily from here, the Curia, could get the agreement of the others, then I think it right that a foreigner comes here. This requires courage. All respect to the cardinals."

The small, mundane world of Via Veneto, nevertheless open to the "world" with its bars and hotels, finds the choice of a Pole as head of the Catholic Church and as bishop of Rome quite in order. But naturally there are differences in the reactions of even the worldly Romans--and who would not want to rank as such. At the election of the last, deceased pope no one had to ask the opinion of the other. It was clear. John Paul I, the patriarch of Venice, was simply appealing, and that is all that counts at the beginning. Yet here, with a non-Italian, first one had to ask what the friend thought, how the neighbor found it. On this Tuesday morning the Romans bought their newspapers

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a bit more eagerly, read a few lines, hit the paper with their hand, looked at the bystanders and questioned with raised eyebrows: "What do you think of it?"

The replies came uncertainly. Last night one could still afford to remain silent, with meaningful gestures. The surprise was great then. One could even lose one's speech then. According to the calculations of diligent historians, 456 years, 9 months and 7 days have passed (however, the number may not be absolutely correct because of the Gregorian calendar reform at the end of the 16th century) since a non-Italian ascended to the throne of Peter. Perhaps many Italians thought that after 450 years their nation had acquired a right to the bishop's seat of the prince of the apostles, Peter. Yet every tradition comes to an end. "And it was definitely not a bad series of Italian popes. Italy gave the church admirable historical figures," say our Roman friends with an anxious plea for agreement in their eyes.

After the unfortunate Adrian VI from Utrecht, it is again one from the periphery of the German cultural sphere: Karol Wojtyla from Krakow. No Italian has any objection to Poles. There are no disturbing relationships. A brave little nation, always between mighty, greedy neighbors, that was nearly torn to pieces in war between frightful states, the Hitlerite Reich and the Stalinist Soviet Union, that experienced the horrors of the concentration camp directly--in Italy--these are the first associations connected with the Poles.

On Monday evening John Paul II referred to the common bonds of faith and Christian tradition in his old and new homeland. The masses in St. Peter's Square immediately noticed that up there, on the center balcony of the great facade, stood a man deeply rooted in faith and in the history of his Church who sincerely meant what he said. Many were astonished at his good command of the Italian language. His voice resounded beautifully and clearly over the enormous oval of Bernini. One could barely notice that a foreign tongue formed the sounds. His request, that they correct him if he made an error in the language, moved even the strongest Italians. Some quickly formed the judgment that here, finally, was a pope who would not merely chat with the masses. The astonishment, the disbelief that a non-Italian was now the primate of Italy slowly began to give way to a readiness for sympathy, to satisfaction with a daring but lucky choice.

Perhaps there was an initial disappointment among the masses of the faithful on Monday evening in St. Peter's Square as Cardinal Deacon Felici uttered the dark, unknown Polish name at 1845 hours. The second John Paul certainly did not unleash such a storm of enthusiasm as had the first, but the pope from Krakow can be sure of the affection of his new flock.

On Monday the first indiscretions ran through the Vatican and the city of Rome. Such rumors are to be listened to with caution. Yet much speaks for the fact that, in addition to the Holy Spirit, somber considerations led to the election of the new pope from Poland. Leaving the Sistine Chapel through the Belvedere

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Court of the Vatican Palace on Monday, after the mass and the first address by John Paul II, the cardinals spoke mostly of the Holy Spirit as having unquestionably brought about "a historic turn in the annals of the Catholic Church." But, after all, the purple-robed members of the Sacred College did not only implore for heavenly guidance during the time of preparation and the 3 days of the conclave.

The deceased pope embodied, in an exceptional manner, the lovable shepherd of souls. Evidently no Italian cardinal could convince the foreign eminences that he represented something else to a similarly extraordinary degree. Since the Italians no longer possess a minority bloc--as they did in earlier elections--with which to prevent a decision in favor of a non-Italian, the road was obviously clear for an agreement on a "foreigner."

Yet how the providence of God or--more profanely--fate pointed then to the cardinal archbishop of Krakow, that is shrouded in mystery. It is strictly protected by severe Church penalties, yet it will probably be lifted soon at one place or another, just as it was after the previous conclave. It does not appear to be accidental that Karol Wojtyla belongs to the European cultural circle, to a people whose foundations are built on the Catholic faith, to a nation to which no historical antagonisms are attached, to a state to which political objections hardly exist. What role was played in the cardinals' decision by Wojtyla's origin from a country under communist rule and his known unyielding attitude toward communism will be deciphered only from the actions of the new pontiff.

Warsaw Reactions

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Oct 78 p 3

[Text] Warsaw, 17 October--The first official reaction from Warsaw, in an interview with government press spokesman Janiurek by the Italian press agency ANSA which was later reproduced in the Polish news media, voiced the expectation that, as a member of the nation "which went through the hell of war," Pope John Paul II would dedicate himself with particular intensity to the promotion of peace and friendly international cooperation. The pope's choice of the name of his two great predecessors, who had such great merit in this area, was noted with attention in Poland. The hope expressed here, as well as in an initial commentary by the paper ZYCIE WARSZAWY, that the new pope would continue the Vatican's Eastern policy of his predecessors was perhaps somewhat rhetorical, since the Polish episcopate was opposed to this policy in a rather skeptical and subdued manner.

The election of the metropolitan of Krakow was a great surprise for the native country of the new pontiff. Even in Polish church circles apparently no one counted on the possibility that Wojtyla, who was the youngest bishop in Poland when appointed at age 38, could be elected as the first non-Italian pope in 4 1/2 centuries. At first many people in Poland could not grasp or believe the news shouted to them on the street and on the phone; then unbelieving bewilderment yielded to joyful pride. One has the impression that

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Poland's Catholics, including the intellectuals, are in a state of joyful shock. For the present the superabundance of joy allows little time for quiet, sober considerations concerning the impact of a Polish pope on the future development of Poland or even concerning the possible impact of this Polish pope on the universal church. Meanwhile, there is a proud and disconcerted satisfaction that this choice takes into consideration the fact that Poland may well be the most Catholic nation in the world today, that there is no other country in which the ratio of practicing Catholics in the population is as overwhelmingly high and in which these Catholics display such a measure of solid unity.

Not only in the eyes of the world but also for many Poles, Cardinal Wojtyla was somewhat overshadowed by the primate, Cardinal Wyszynski, so that it required some effort to fashion a truly clear picture of this pontiff who appears to combine openness to the world with a steady adherence to principle and who seems to be more an embodiment of the professor type, which he was for a long time, than that of a prince of the church.

Occasional suggestion, that the cardinal of Krakow represents sort of an opposite pole to Primate Wyszynski concerning both the concept of the church in the world and church-state relations--more modern in the first area, more unyielding in the second--have largely been discredited through the faithful solidarity of Wojtyla with the primate. Wojtyla, who cooperated in a decisive manner on many documents of the Second Vatican Council, could indeed be classified as less spiritualist-traditionalist than Wyszynski, yet he never got into definite opposition to the primate over this. In this respect the Polish spectrum is not the spectrum of the universal church as a whole, by whose standards the new pope could well be classified in the traditionalist wing but definitely not at its extreme end. The cardinal of Krakow has proved to be in everything more of a quieting and conciliatory type of person than a reliable support of nonconformist intellectuals, and in his sermons on church-state relations in recent years he has often voiced sharper and more critical views than the primate. He has stressed more sharply the defense of free movement for the church and human rights.

To be sure, informed observers explain this in part by the fact that he was just not in the politically responsible position of the primate's office. Yet Wojtyla apparently had a somewhat different basic position on the relationship between the communist state and the Catholic Church in Poland, one that could be defined as less "political": to reach less far out from the area of the church in its narrower sense in wishes and postulates and, in the area of individual human conscience, to let himself be involved with the state as little as possible in terms of demands and the exploitation of possibilities from the State in order to avoid the necessity of eventual reciprocity and solidarity. But the place of the church and the rights of the human individual are definitely to be defended without compromise, as is the right to call by its name, without polish or tactics, anything that the church considers to be impermissible manipulation or limitation.

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With regard to the election of Wojtyla as pope, the Warsaw political leadership is in the awkward position that, while of course it does not exclude itself from the proud joy felt by the entire nation, it still cannot be very happy about the new situation. Not only because, in the argument used by the party and government about the acquired appreciation of the value of Poles in the world, the most apparent positive point is now on the side of the Polish church and not the state, but also because the scales have been tipped in the practical political situation as well. The Warsaw leadership now faces a strengthened opponent in the Warsaw-Vatican relationship and in the state-church relationship in Poland, and all this totally unsuspected, without any preparation. At the helm of the Vatican stands a man who knows in detail the everyday existence of the faithful under a socialist system, and, as the church from which the pope emerged, the Polish Church under Cardinal Wyszynski is gaining enormously in moral strength.

Advocate of Collegiate Principle

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Oct 78 p 11

[Text] As the newly elected Pope John Paul II appeared before the Romans for the first time on Monday evening, the Pole from Krakow said: "I come from a foreign land, distant and yet so close in the community of faith and of Christian tradition." Not only to Catholics in Italy or Latin America but also to the many German faithful, the pope from the neighboring country is a largely unknown man. In the minds of a broader public, the Catholic Church of Poland has always been identified with the person of its primate, Cardinal Wyszynski. A strong discipline in the hierarchy of the Polish episcopate has seen to it that the church, especially in its disagreements with the communist power, always spoke with a single voice, that of the primate. On Monday evening Wyszynski stood on the balcony of St. Peter's Church to the right of the pope, two steps behind him.

One can already hear opinions characterizing the primate, who has resisted the challenges of the atheistic worldly power and preserved the powerful position of the Catholic Church in Poland for decades, as a "pope maker." The Vatican rewards the loyalty of the 30 million Polish Catholics and the example of their vital belief. The fact that, after more than 30 years of communist control, a Polish cardinal can be elected pope, that the heritage and essence of Polish Catholicism was not squandered away, can be attributed to Wyszynski's service. Yet in the choice of a pope this may have been one but certainly not the decisive factor.

In Cardinal Wojtyla the conclave decided on a man who is open toward the currents of Catholicism outside Poland. In his own country he was considered the "intellectual" among the members of the episcopate. The elevation of the archbishop of Krakow to the rank of cardinal in May 1967 fulfilled the hopes of all those who, for years after the death of Cardinal Hlond in 1948 and of Archbishop of Krakow Cardinal Sapieha in 1951, had urged the Vatican to name a second cardinal in Poland, according to tradition. The choice

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of the 47-year-old archbishop was no surprise at the time. Wojtyla was known as a man whose prudence and well-balanced nature made him different from Wyszynski.

In the circles of young Catholic intellectuals and Catholic lay organization which were in loyal opposition to the episcopate, the professor of theology enjoyed great respect. With a second cardinal, responsible directly to Rome, the party and government hoped to weaken the position of the combative and stubborn head of the Conference of Polish Bishops, Cardinal Wyszynski, and to split the church hierarchy to their advantage. The government repeatedly made it clear that Wyszynski, the "leader of the antisocial opposition," could never become their partner in a dialogue. This calculation--to normalize the relationship between Warsaw and the Vatican with the help of Wojtyla, possibly bypassing Wyszynski--did not work. The worldly powers had to realize that the new cardinal was scrupulously loyal to the primate. This iron discipline, which Wojtyla maintained especially in crisis situations, approached virtual self-denial.

In 1967, when Wyszynski was denied permission to participate in the Synod of Catholic Bishops in Rome, Cardinal Wojtyla, together with the bishops of Lublin and Oppeln, declined to go out of solidarity, although the necessary travel documents had already been issued. At the Conference of Polish Bishops Wojtyla received applause, unusually loud for this circle, when he declared that he would not travel to Rome unless the head of the conference, Wyszynski, also received a passport. The cardinal of Krakow thus made it known for the second time that he would not lend himself as a splitting tool. It became clear the first time when Wojtyla in Krakow, like Cardinal Wyszynski in Warsaw, declined to personally greet French President de Gaulle during his visit to Poland in September 1967 when the official guest of the communist government visited the cathedral on the Wawel in Krakow.

The false expectations connected with his appointment to cardinal also put a damper on the official appearances of the cardinal of Krakow, who was moved by concern not to sow discord or to let uncertainties arise in the Polish episcopate. The professor is not a man of quick words, of taking impulsive stands. What at times appears to be out-of-place modesty is more the manifestation of a personal shyness. He avoids aggressive confrontations, but this should not deceive anyone about the solidity of his positions. In spite of his pronounced spirituality, the new pope is a man who is practically oriented in making judgments.

Those who know him describe the metropolitan of Krakow as a good listener. He is no champion of "solitary decisions" but an advocate of the collegiality principle. In Krakow he found time for every priest, for every seminary student who sought advice. He cultivated contact at the grassroots level and did not shrink from the road to the villages around Zakopane or to the pilgrims in Silesian Piekary. The broad face with the soft Slavic features could give a false impression about the somber practicality of the new pontiff of the Catholics; John Paul II weighs before he speaks. Wojtyla

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can meditate for hours, reports Rubin, the Polish suffragan bishop with a permanent seat in Rome. Quick decisions are not to be expected of him.

At his ascension to his office some expected to find in the second Polish cardinal an advocate of dialogue between Christians and Marxists, a man in the middle who adheres firmly to strong principles but, in contrast to Wyszynski, does not seek open confrontation. Perhaps in earlier years Wojtyla gave justified cause for such speculations. Yet in the course of development the archbishop of Krakow made his position more precisely clear. During an interview with German television he commented that one cannot simultaneously be a believer and an unbeliever, a Catholic and a Marxist at the same time.

In recent times he has stressed in his preachings the rights of men and of believers as creations of God. He has defended the right of men to be free "because God made man free". Speaking to teachers and pedagogues at the pilgrimage site of Czestochowa this past summer, he explained that truth also belongs among the rights of man; one cannot violate it without violating man.

During the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of "The Organization of Polish Church Life in the Western and Northern Regions" in 1965, the newly elected cardinal recalled that a professor of Krakow University, Pawel Wlodkowic, proclaimed his theses on the freedom of human conscience and on the right of the people at the Council of Constance. "In the 15th century, Poland became the champion of the rights of the human individuality which is expressly repeated today in the encyclical 'Mistici Corporis' or by John XXIII in his remarkable encyclical 'Pacem in Terris.' It was a Pole then who, at the Council of Constance, declared the right of the people to life and freedom and, above all, to spiritual independence--a right to live according to one's own truth." Wojtyla said at the time that the bishop of Warmia, Eneas Silvius Olesnicki, was elected pope after the death of Pius II and was the only Polish bishop who had occupied Peter's throne. No one thought at the time that Karol Wojtyla would be the second.

John Paul II is no inexperienced pope from the Polish provinces. The polyglot scholar speaks at least five languages and is not unknown to the cardinals and bishops in Rome. During the Second Vatican Council he actively participated in drawing up the constitution on "Presence of the Church in the Modern World." Wojtyla played a considerable role in the Roman Synod of Bishops. In 1974 he was elected to the permanent council of the Synod of Bishops. At the council he emphasized the necessity of cooperation between the pope and the bishops, which should provide the certainty that he will not manage his new office as primus inter pares.

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High-Level Visits

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Oct 78 p 4

[Text] Rome, 19 October--French Cardinal Jean Villot will probably remain as head of the papal department of state. Although the news is not yet official, the paper which reported it, IL GIORNALE NUOVO, quoted reliable sources. On the other hand, most of the other Italian papers expressed the hope that the "Polish pope would name an Italian secretary of state." The current "foreign minister" of the Vatican, Archbishop Casaroli, is recommended as successor.

Moreover, even pressure is being exerted in this problem. "Wojtyla's election as pope," writes LA REPUBBLICA, "has already created concern in governmental offices of the East, which as yet have given no noticeable signs of any reaction. Casaroli's removal would sound like a declaration of war." Another reason for the proposed solution to name Casaroli secretary of state is that the pope would have a chance to choose as "negotiator" someone who would be more in accord with his own views on the relationship with the communist countries. The predecessor of the new pope reached the decision to retain every member of the Curia offices within 48 hours of his election--a decision which did not go without criticism. Pope John Paul II gave himself a period of reflection until the installation mass the following Sunday. Nevertheless, no doubt exists in Rome about the continuation of the papal Ostpolitik. Yet there is agreement in all circles that its methods and style will change. This is also confirmed by Catholic circles in Warsaw who were questioned by CORRIERE DELLA SERA. Pope Wojtyla will conduct a "less naive and more demanding policy" toward the communist nations. The new pope understands the communist language and knows what may be hidden behind certain promises and cajoleries. Dialogue and cooperation will undoubtedly be continued, but under the condition that the communist states must be ready for concessions. It may be part of the new method that the negotiations will no longer be conducted above the heads of the episcopates involved, as was the case previously.

The pope intends to visit Krakow on 8 May for the 900-year celebration of Saint Stanislaus. This he personally disclosed to his previous diocese. On his arrival in Vienna, Cardinal Koenig confirmed that the pope will also visit the Austrian capital on his trip. Kahl, the Polish minister for church-state relations, had already announced that there is no objection to a visit by John Paul II to his native country.

Although the Polish government stresses the harmonious relationship between state and church, nothing has changed in its policy toward religion. The two consecrated bishops of Krakow had to protest because, precisely at this moment, 12 seminary students were called into military service. The president of the Polish state, Jablonski, will also participate in the "solemn high mass of installation of John Paul II." However, the real event will be the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, Donald Coggan, which appears to indicate that a more than miniscule ecumenical obstacle has been removed by the election of a non-Italian pope.

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In the opinion of CORRIERE DELLA SERA, it was the Austrian Koenig and the Spaniard Jubany who steered the votes of the Germans, French, East Europeans and the Third World toward the metropolitan of Krakow.

Catholicism: Polish National Tradition

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Oct 78 p 10

[Text] The Polish pope came to Rome by a straight road. The stretch can be traced back through a thousand years. The Roman road, the "Iter Romanum" as it was called by the cultural historian Jan Bystrom, put its mark on the cultural development of the country and on the spiritual orientation of the population ever since the historical beginnings of Polish Christianity. On the eastern border of Western Christendom, Poland retained its close spiritual ties with Rome.

In 966 the first historically known Polish King, Mieszko I, who was married to the Christian Princess Dubravka of Bohemia, had himself christened according to the Latin rites. The king's decision to join the Roman Church and not the Byzantine Christendom of his Slavic brothers in the East had far-reaching consequences for the future fate of the country which have remained in effect to the present. Mieszko placed his domain under the protection of Saint Peter and thereby insured the support of the pope. In 968 the diocese of Posen was founded and placed under the archdiocese of Magdeburg. But in the year 1000 Boleslaw Chrobry, the son of Mieszko, obtained from Pope Sylvester II the establishment of an independent Polish archdiocese in Gnesen with subordinate dioceses in Kolobrzeg, Wroclaw and Krakow. During a pilgrimage the German king and Roman emperor, Otto III, named the later Polish king, Boleslaw I, a confederate and "Patriarch of the Roman Empire."

The founding of monasteries, the Cistercian and Premonstratensian among them, brought to Poland the civilization and art of antiquity and of the early European Middle Ages. The church played a decisive role in Polish intellectual life, just as it did everywhere else in Europe where Christendom furnished the base for universality. The oldest documents of the national language and literature are dedicated to religious themes.

No European current bypassed Poland. Reformation and anti-Reformation gripped the land, even if the forms of coercion were not as gruesome as in other places. Hussitism had many adherents in Poland in the 15th century, although it did not become a national movement as in Bohemia. Above all the Polish nobility, and with them, forcibly, the bonded peasants, changed to Calvinism together with the townspeople, a considerable number of whom were Germans. The Reformation could not establish roots in the general population. Specific forms of tolerance developed which were without example in Europe at the time. Anti-Reformation proclamations by the royalty, which remained Catholic throughout, were contrasted with pro-Reformation decisions by the Polish Parliament. In 1573, in a special session of Parliament, the Protestant nobles

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concluded the "Warsaw Convention" in which all nobles, regardless of their creed, obligated themselves not to attack or discriminate against anyone because of his beliefs. Before his coronation the king had to repeat an oath on this "Pax dissidentium." Stefan Bathory of Transylvania, as king of Poland, issued an edict in 1581 guaranteeing religious freedom.

This tolerance was in the interest of the Polish nation, which, although it often served as a "bulwark of Christianity" against the invasions of Mongols and Turks, also expanded its control over non-Christian peoples in Lithuania, the Ukraine and White Russia in the course of the centuries. By 1650 the Polish nobility, and with them the peasants, had been successfully brought back into the fold of the Catholic Church within a few generations in the course of the anti-Reformation, with the help of the Jesuits. In 1663 Parliament prohibited the reestablishment of Protestant churches; in 1668 anyone converting from the Catholic Church to Protestant teachings was threatened with exile and the death penalty; in 1716 the demolition of Protestant churches erected after 1632 was decided.

The beginnings of the still-valid equation Pole-Catholic reach back to this period; since the identification of different beliefs with the population included: German equals Lutheran, Polish equals Catholic. Among the western neighbors the Reformation was entrenched; from the north the Protestant Swedes made an inroad and in the east, lived the Orthodox "schismatics."

In the years of the "storm flood" which exhausted the nation after 1648, as the Swedes occupied Warsaw and later also Krakow, "when the misery was at its highest, this miracle occurred." Oskar Halecki, the historian living in London, describes it in his "History of Poland": "Like Noah's ark amidst the deluge, the monastery of Czestochowa resisted the enemy. Its abbot, Kordecki, gathered a number of soldiers around the picture of the 'Black Madonna,' which has been revered for centuries, and after a siege lasting 40 days the Swedes were forced to retreat for the first time. As this unheard-of event became known and was listened to as to a legend, the entire population found new courage...and raised itself against the strangers in an outburst of reawakened patriotism." In 1655 King John Kasimir made a solemn promise on behalf of the nation that the Holy Virgin Mary would be praised from then on as "Queen of the Polish Crown" and that the Polish nation would never depart from this promise.

Even today Czestochowa is a national shrine and place of pilgrimage for millions of people. In the Polish Catholic Church the invocation "Queen of Peace" in the Litany of Loretto is followed by the insert "Mary, Queen of Poland--pray for us," with the permission of the Vatican. During the time of dismemberment in 1772-1793-1995 by the three powers, Prussia, Russia and Austria, two of which were non-Catholic, the state and its institutions disappeared. In their fight for national survival the people gathered around the church, and the picture of the "Queen of Poland" bestowed solace and hope in their place of worship.

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The clergy stood at the side of the people; many priests became "martyrs of the national conviction" during the struggle between the Prussian government and Rome, just as during the German occupation in World War II the priests participated in the patriotic resistance. More than 2,500 of them lost their lives in concentration camps.

From 1918 to 1939 the Catholic faith was the official state religion in Poland, although the church did not participate directly in state authority. Nor did it own any considerable landed property, with a few exceptions, since these had been largely confiscated in the 19th century. Thus, the Catholic Church of Poland did not pose any points for attack by communist propaganda as that alien order was forcibly imposed on the country with its Western orientation. The identification with the national interest, which the church has practiced through the centuries, made it nearly unassailable. Attempts to divide a clergy which had grown up in historical traditions or to destroy the unity between the church and the nation were unsuccessful.

In 1963, on the 440th anniversary of the establishment of seminaries by the Council of Trent, the primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski, said that there were people who wanted to turn the priests into chaplains of a party or of a certain political orientation, or into servants of the "raison d'etat." However, the priest must be ready to give up his life for his brothers rather than to put himself in the service of political programs which are not always in agreement with the spirit of the Gospel and of supernatural laws.

The fruits of this steadfastness are visible 15 years later: 85 percent of the Polish population professes to belong to the Catholic Church. It is divided into 27 dioceses or apostolic administrations in which 77 bishops, including the suffragan bishops, are working. There are exactly 9,000 parishes which are served by 18,000 diocesan priests, 18,000 ecclesiastics and 30,000 nuns. Five thousand seminary students are preparing for their vocation.

The teaching of religion takes place at 18,000 so-called catechetical locations outside the schools. And a few days ago the "most Catholic nation of the world" placed Karol Wojtyla of Krakow, as supreme head of Catholic Christendom, in the Vatican. This pope is indeed not coming in "from the cold," as an Italian paper observed in its headline.

Report From Krakow

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Oct 78 p 3

[Text] From the cathedral on the Wawel, the coronation church and mausoleum of the Polish kings, the largest bell in Poland, the famous "Zygmunt," rings in the extraordinary day on this Sunday morning. It was poured by Johann Behem of Nuremberg in 1520. Its tolls, which can be heard not only in the city but also in a wide circle around Krakow, announce only the high holidays of the church and extraordinary occurrences, according to tradition.

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Legend has it that the tone of the bell breaks up the clouds to make place for the sun. On Saturday, rain mixed with the first snow fell from the heavens above Poland. On the cold, windy Sunday the sun broke through, although not with its full autumnal radiance.

Zygmunt's bell tolled, yet the faithful stayed at home. They followed the transmission of the inauguration of their archbishop, Karol Wojtyla, to pope on their television screens. Streets and squares were as empty as they are in the West during the finals of the soccer world cup competition. For the first time in the existence of the state-owned television under the control of the Communist Party, the screen carried pictures of a church event. Never before had Polish Catholics seen any of their cardinals or even a cassock on television. Most of them know St. Peter's Square in Rome only from hearsay or from foreign pictures. The first pictures of church life on Polish television screens were now a superlative as well: the inauguration of one of their countrymen as pope of the universal church.

On Sunday around 10 a m the people crowd into the small TV room of the Hotel Cracovia in Krakow to see the colorful pictures from Rome. They applaud as the pope, who still is Cardinal Wojtyla for them, finally appears. They are as completely there as if they were standing in St. Peter's Square in Rome, fold their hands, cross themselves as the pope raises his hands for the benediction, they clap with joy at the choice of the cardinals as they pay their homage. The applause is strongest for the primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski, who is the second to kneel in front of the new pope. But nearly as spontaneous is the applause for Cardinal Koenig, from nearby Austria, who has visited Poland repeatedly--the lasting influence of the monarchy in the region that once belonged to Austria. Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia, who has already visited Poland once, is also received with applause.

Poland surely is the only country of the Eastern bloc whose TV transmitted the network telecast from Rome in its entirety. The Polish commentator made it clear that the broadcast from Rome would be relayed as long as it lasted. It was, indeed, the first time that the Polish TV reporter was faced with the task of translating into Polish a speech by the pope. Yet the language of the church presented no apparent difficulties for the commentator of the communist TV. In this "most Catholic land of the world" all are well acquainted with it.

After the beginning of the Mass, the TV room in the Hotel Cracovia turned into a consecrated place. No one spoke. If someone wanted to light a cigarette, he was set straight. Some had brought binoculars with them to bring the screen nearer. For 3 1/2 hours, religious songs echoed through the halls of the state hotel. During this time the most important services in the hotel were performed by an emergency service. No one allowed himself to be disturbed. The viewers in front of the TV included a delegation from the Soviet Union. However, after a half hour their leader ordered them to leave. The Poles grinned.

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The room became completely quiet as the pope greeted Poland first in his speech to the nations. All that he would say would be pale compared with what he felt in his heart, said the familiar voice from distant Rome in the familiar language. "Stay with me in prayer"--the appeal touched chords which can no longer be expressed by acclamation, by loud, spontaneous gestures. Something is addressed here that the rest of the world does not understand anyway. Emotion is written on the faces, emotion that makes one speechless while the request of the pope moves the soul. Something that is understood only by the lonely man in the Vatican and those who listen to him at home.

"The Nation Will Hold Fast Unto God"

The Polish Catholics seek intimacy with their cardinal, the more so since they must acknowledge that henceforth he belongs to the entire Catholic world. The television broadcast was a lesson to the people of Krakow. Their cardinal embraces black-skinned dignitaries of the church; he turns toward the cardinals from all parts of the world and continents. The archbishop of Krakow whom they all knew may seem a little strange to them in this unaccustomed surrounding in which he moves so assuredly.

Then, as John Paul II speaks in several languages, a deep satisfaction appears on the faces of the Poles in the Vatican. There is spontaneous applause as the pope turns to the German Catholics. Are those Poles or tourists from the GDR? Then the pope speaks again in foreign tongues which sound Slavic. Does he speak Russian by chance? The TV reporter explains that it is Serbian. The viewers, who were holding their breath, relax and exhale. They strain to follow every motion, every word. When the pope from Krakow continues to speak, even in Spanish, they shake their heads.

"We are with you, Holy Father," "The nation will hold fast unto God," "We sing the Te Deum with a full heart"--six thick books, put out by the Krakow Curia in its building on Franciscan Street, have already been filled with good wishes from the homeland diocese. The people stand in long lines, write entire poems on the white pages, put a sheet under their hands in order not to soil the paper. The signatures are not always their names. They may be "a happy woman from Krakow" or "a Catholic from Krakow." Autumn flowers decorate the private chapel of the pope in the building of the Curia to which he used to retire for his meditations. Now everyone knows stories to tell about the archbishop. The pope has hundreds of thousands of press agents in Krakow who want to tell the world who Karol Wojtyla is. The students in the university town are the ones most disturbed about the departure of the cardinal. The young generation especially turned to the open archbishop, ready for dialogue. Others again will tell about the mountaineer who got lost over the border with Czechoslovakia, was halted by the Czech border patrol and admitted that he was the archbishop of Krakow, to which he received the reply that he was already the fifth to claim this.

The small town of Wadowice, the birthplace of the pope, became the center of world interest. The house where the pope was born, just opposite the church, now carries a plaque: "Pope John Paul II lived here."

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Believer and Nonbeliever TV Viewers

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Oct 78 p 3

[Text] Warsaw, 22 October--This has never happened before. On a Sunday morning the churches of the Polish capital are empty, and the faithful, like the nonbelievers, sit in front of the TV screen. With a TV program so uniquely attractive to Poles--Catholics as well as communists--the Catholic Church of Poland could not compete this morning. Mostly there was no Mass at all in the churches of Warsaw. In front of St. John's Cathedral in the Old Town of Warsaw a Pole attempted to explain to his foreign guests that this picture was totally atypical.

It was due to this event, which never before had occurred in more than 1,000 years of Christianity in Poland, that the state-owned Polish television did something which it never does: it transmitted a church celebration, the inauguration of the first pope of Polish origin. A speaker of the medium translated the Italian sermon of Pope John Paul II into the mother tongue of the pope.

Later no translation is needed. From millions of Polish TV sets resound, in Polish, from the mouth of the Holy Father, greetings and thanks to the Polish pilgrims "with your noble primate at the helm"; from Mickiewicz' "Pan Tadeusz"--the national epic poetry of Poland--the invocation to the Mother of God rings out: "Holy Virgin who protects the radiant Czestochowa and illuminates its rising portal." The speaker of the Polish TV furnishes an unbiased explanation of the celebration in St. Peter's Square and, at the end, again quotes the congratulatory telegram from the Polish political leadership to the pope.

In the rare official utterances and sparing comments an attempt is made to counter the impression that this election is to some extent a sign of distinction and acknowledgement to the "other" Poles, the Catholics in contrast to the socialists. They want to view it and share in it in unity. In the congratulatory telegram of the Polish leadership the pope is referred to as "son of the Polish nation, a nation which builds the greatness and well-being of its socialist fatherland in unity and with the cooperation of all its people." In his response the pope said that with all his heart he is with his "beloved Poles and the fatherland of all Poles" and that, with the help of God, he wished to do "what is also conducive to the well-being of his beloved nation, the history of which has been united with the mission and service of the Catholic Church for a thousand years." It is noteworthy that the matter was not left to rest with a single printing of this reply. An article in the paper ZYCIE WARSZAWY again quoted both texts, the congratulatory telegram and the reply, and added that these words of the pope confirmed a feeling of the permanence of the bonds which had been firm over the more than 50 years of the pope's life and would not be severed now.

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The ZYCIE WARSZAWY article affirmed that the conclave had selected a man who so far had progressed through every stage of his religious career, from his ordination to the cardinal's purple, in the socialist world.

With the unique event of the elevation of a Polish cardinal to pope now a reality, this fact cannot be evaluated without taking into consideration the realities within which the personality of the new pope has developed. There is a direct connection between the changes in the Catholic Church in Poland and the socialistic changes in the state and nation. The church has freed itself from its alliance with the upper stratum, and the general raising of the cultural and educational level in Poland has also affected the church there. This amounts to the argument that the postwar changes in Poland under socialism contributed to the elevation of the Catholic Church in Poland to a level which found acknowledgement in the election of the cardinal. Also referred to is the traditional Polish tolerance, the fact that the events of the war and the occupation welded the people of Poland so closely together that the difference between "believer" and "nonbeliever" can no longer rend these mutualities.

According to a commentary in the weekly journal POLITYKA, the elevation of a Pole to the papal office is of special significance since, for the past 34 years, Poland has been a "special example of constructive and fruitful co-existence between nonbelievers and Catholics." One may have one's doubts whether the new pope or the primate of Poland would find this evaluation valid for the entire time since 1944. According to POLITYKA, the nation from which the pope originates is today a developing socialist union. Its economic structures, its ideals and models are fundamentally different from the structures and values of the capitalist world but not, however, from the humanitarian ideals of many Catholics. Here again one can recognize the argument that the election of Cardinal Wojtyla as pope should not be perceived as something that is in contrast to the socialist character of Poland.

In Warsaw people discuss with astonishment how fast the pilgrims from Poland received their passports for the papal inauguration. However, a few individuals from the circle of critical political Catholics who felt particularly close to the pope when he was still archbishop of Krakow received no passports. Among them were Mazowiecki, chief editor of the journal WIEZ, and Cywinski, former chief editor of the weekly ZNAK, who participated in the hunger strike in Warsaw's St. Martin's Church last year and whose father confessor was the archbishop of Krakow, now elevated to pope. Whether this was merely a mishap, a mistake of lower officials who have not yet adjusted themselves to the new situation, or a calculated warning shot against the critical Catholic intellectuals is as yet unclear.

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New Pope--New Ostpolitik

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Oct 78 p 1

[Text] After the election of Polish Archbishop Wojtyla as pope, one heard strange reassurances from the Roman Curia: John Paul II will certainly continue the Ostpolitik. If this should mean that, under the new pope as well, through gestures, dialogues, negotiations and agreements with the communist states of Europe, the Vatican will attempt to achieve mitigations and assurances for the Catholics living there, then it is a foregone conclusion. The head of the Catholic Church has the duty to support with all his power the church's faithful and its priests who must live under the control of state Marxism, and this requires contact with those in power. All objections that the pope must not deal with suppressors or lower himself to their level are oriented toward a moral vacuum which overlooks the people and their fate.

Or does it mean that John Paul II will continue unchanged the Ostpolitik of Paul VI? Then the announcement would be subject to doubt. No one can predict what political roads or methods toward the East Pope Wojtyla will decide on. He is obviously not a man of quick, impulsive decisions but weighs carefully before making a decision. This is how he acted in Krakow; why should he depart from it in Rome? The pope presumably will appraise the continuation of the current Ostpolitik and will also listen to the reasons that so much and not more was achieved. But the pope surely will also include in his considerations the criticism of the Ostpolitik of his predecessor which was raised throughout those years by Catholics in the East and the West. Many of these critical thoughts will be familiar to him from his own homeland, even if he did not altogether share them there--there being scarce evidence of this.

The most important objection states that Rome mistakenly took the Communist regimes as normal partners in negotiations who would be led by the maxim of normal quid pro quo. It was noticed too late in the Vatican that the communist governments perceive the dealings completely differently. They wanted to get something and to give their contractual partner something in return which merely harmed it, namely, demoralization of the church at home.

The agreements with Czechoslovakia and Hungary are easily perceptible examples. Here the reciprocity by the state consisted of permission to again appoint a bishop to orphaned dioceses. However, in many cases the communist regimes forced upon the Vatican so-called peace clerics who enjoyed little trust on the part of parish priests and the faithful because of their close relationship with the executive power. Thus, in Olmutz the peace cleric-functionary Vrana became titular bishop and apostolic administrator. Priests like him explain why many Catholics, especially in Czechoslovakia, don't go to church in their hometown but elsewhere. No faithful parish priest dares to talk to them openly about his distress. But it suffices for the communist state if Rome installs bishops who keep quiet vis-a-vis the authorities out of fear--surely frequently understandable--that they not risk themselves for their

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Catholics, and so, finally, they fail to dare even that little bit they ought to. In a church appointed in such a manner, bitterness prevails, a paralyzing feeling of abandonment. Indifference and alienation are then, for many, the consequence.

However, doubtful appointments of bishops in Czechoslovakia and Hungary were the result not only of a false evaluation of the communist partner in the negotiations an evaluation which began to change only in recent times. The Vatican gave in so broadly to the will of the state as to who must definitely not become bishop and who should become one because it held that the significance of the hierarchy in religious life was less than absolute. In a land with state Marxism the bishop is particularly important both for the believers and for the parish priests; to whom could they turn otherwise? But when the state uses pressure to keep the children from receiving religious education, the faithful from attending church and young people from entering the priestly vocation, when practicing Catholics are treated as enemies of the state, could it be that to have a bishop is merely a hurtfully deceiving pretense? If this bishop is also a favorite of the authorities, then he must be condemned to ineffectiveness as a pastor even if he has good will.

On the one hand, Rome overestimated the positional value of an intact church hierarchy. On the other hand, however, it was inclined to overlook the opinions of the episcopate. The Polish Cardinal Wyszynski and the cardinal of Berlin, Bengsche, had experienced this; the Yugoslav bishops, who do not have to live and work under East bloc conditions, also found the Curia hard of hearing at times. Their ardent hope is that the pope from Krakow will better understand them and their position because he belonged among them for decades.

Such hopes toward John Paul II are shared by many others. Must not this pope feel oppressed by so many expectations? It will be difficult enough for him to lead the church even in the Western world. In East Europe, however, he has to deal with rulers who not only oppose him with their might but make that might felt by the faithful and the priests.

New Pope's Life, Activities

Hamburg STERN in German No 44, 26 Oct 78 pp 19-29

[Text] The reverend slides back and forth impatiently on the hard wooden stool. At times he leans far forward, at times he changes his glasses quickly in order to see better the festive events on the colored screen of his Sony television set. The rheumatism which plagues him is totally forgotten by the 75-year-old prelate, Edwin Zacher, from the Polish town of Wadowice in the Beskids exactly 50 km to the southwest of Krakow. Small wonder. The man who was installed in the highest office of the Catholic Church on Sunday morning used to be his pupil for religion at the Wadowice high school: Karol Wojtyla, today John Paul II.

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As the TV cameras focused on the new pope for the first time, the reverend completely lost his composure: "Nasz Lolek, Nasz Lolek--Our little Charlie, our little Charlie," he said jubilantly. His cook, Anna Juzefowska, 64, crossed herself and murmured respectfully: "Nasz papiez--Our pope."

- However, not only the prelate but all 15,000 inhabitants of the community
- were awakened from their provincial slumber. St. Mary's Church on Red Army Square became a place of pilgrimage. Above the church entry hangs a picture of the new pope. Inside, where usually there is room for only 2,000 people,
- 4,000 were crowding in front of the altar last Sunday.

- While the choice of the cardinal of Krakow created a sensation in Wadowice and in the entire world, it was less surprising for the initiated. For Karol Wojtyla was already among the leading candidates at the conclave which
- elected John Paul I. His friends recall today how fervently he bid them
- goodbye when he left for the new papal election in early October--as if Karol Wojtyla feared he would not return.

The German cardinals brought the name of the archbishop of Krakow into the discussions when the Italian candidates mutually blocked themselves. Thereby the 264th successor of St. Peter became a man in whose diocese lies the greatest graveyard of the world, Auschwitz; a Pole who learned the language of the murderers, who for many years exerted himself tirelessly to achieve a reconciliation between the Polish and the German people and who can be designated without scruple as "friendly toward the Germans."

Karol Wojtyla was the one who in 1964--for the first time after the end of the war--officially received a group of Catholics from the Federal Republic. Face to face with a delegation of the Pax Christi movement, he said at the time that there must be a bridge over the abyss of hate. And it was Karol Wojtyla who accompanied Cardinal Wyszynski, the primate of the Catholic Church in Poland, on his first visit to the Federal Republic in September of this year.

In between stretched a long phase which was difficult and painful for both sides. In 1965 the Polish bishops wrote to their German brothers in office: "Let us attempt to forget! No polemics, no further Cold War. In this totally Christlike and simultaneously very human spirit we stretch out our hands toward you. We grant forgiveness and ask for forgiveness." While the German bishops also offered reconciliation, they were not ready to acknowledge the Oder-Neisse line as the western Polish border. The church had identified itself too narrowly with the Christian Democratic Union, which was unwilling to discuss this point.

Even after the signing of the Warsaw Treaty, as the Catholics of Poland waited for a positive attitude on the part of the German bishops, the latter declared coldly that they did not want to comment on current politics. Only in 1974, when Cardinal Wojtyla and Cardinal Dopfner of Munich coccelebrated a Mass in the former Dachau concentration camp, did the relationship begin to relax. Three years later the University of Mainz gave Wojtyla an honorary doctorate.

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A few weeks ago, as the cardinal of Krakow traveled through the Federal Republic with the Polish delegation of bishops, he kept himself modestly in the background, as always. Yet it was striking how attentively Cardinal Wyszynski, primate of Poland and leading personality of Polish Catholicism, treated his 19-years-younger colleague. This was meant not so much to impress the hosts but rather as a sign for the regime at home, which followed this visit with watchful eyes.

Who is this man who until now stood second in rank in Poland and with whom the church is now giving itself youthful energy?

Karol Wojtyla was in the Krakow Bishop's Palace, at the edge of the medieval Old Town, for everyone to speak with. Often not even his secretary sat in the anteroom. Visitors who entered the study of the bishop saw him most often sitting at his desk hunched over, supporting his head in his hands. Always smiling a bit absently at first, he soon found contact with every visitor, radiated sympathy and reliability.

No one was sent away from this bishop. Some intellectuals were kept waiting in the anteroom because Wojtyla did not want to interrupt the discussion with an old peasant woman. He knew every priest in his diocese personally.

Karol Wojtyla, born in 1920 as the son of a career soldier, has not lost his simplicity during his career in the Catholic Church. He was reluctant to change his lifestyle merely because he wore the red of the bishops and later the purple of the cardinals instead of the black cassock of a simple priest.

"I need 300 hours of sport a year," he once told a friend, and this was no showing off by the enthusiastic skier and canoe rider. He gave up motor-cycling only several years after he was elected bishop.

During vacations Wojtyla preferred to travel with a group of students through the land and liked to take a guitar in his hands in the evening. He always refused to leave his address with the bishop's palace. Whenever he had time the cardinal of Krakow organized discussion circles for students and professors. At the last of these philosophical get-togethers during the current year the debate centered around Heidegger.

Will his affability, which made him such a beloved pastor and partner in dialogue in Krakow, frustrate him in Rome when it will be important for him to prevail over the powerful Curia?

Those who count on it do not know that the new man in the Vatican is a realist and belongs among those who need time and who consider for a long time before they act. But after Wojtyla has made his decision, he is not at all reserved. The state functionaries and the party even preferred Wyszynski as a partner in discussions since, with advancing age, he has been increasingly inclined to make peace with the communist state.

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The Government Wanted To Hush Up the Archbishop

Two years ago, as the primate, on reaching age 75, flew to Rome to offer his resignation to the pope, Paul VI refused this request. That is, the Polish government had previously made known to the Vatican that it was very strongly in favor of having the cardinal remain in office. It knew that there was only one successor, the archbishop of Krakow. And less than a month ago the Polish government attempted to ignore the current pope in front of the public. As the Polish delegation returned to Warsaw from Frankfurt and the papers in Poland reported this meeting, the state censor blacked out the name of Wojtyla from every report.

Then is the new man in Rome an anticommunist? Will he give up the policy of detente toward the East which was begun by John XXIII and energetically continued by Paul VI? To suspect this one would have to forget that the realist in the bishop's seat in Krakow always guarded against narrowmindedness and thoughtless actions toward the communist state. Wojtyla's basic conviction that the state and church in Poland must live together has never wavered.

No Fear of the Party and Authorities

However, when it was a question of principles the cardinal of Krakow was no shirker. He was the author of a pastoral letter in September 1978 which was read from every pulpit in Poland: "The state censor has always been the weapon of totalitarian systems."

A further proof of his fearlessness: For years the town officials of Krakow forbade the faithful to lead the great procession on Corpus Christi Day through the age-old market place. In one of his sermons the bishop quoted from the edict of the authorities "that the functional development of the market speaks against an alteration of the procession route." Wojtyla's ironical comment: "Last year it was announced that the dog breeders of Krakow held their procession across the main market. I mean, carrying on under the theme of functional development of the age-old market of Krakow can thereby be concluded." Then he added: "In a society which rests on the principle of equality, equality must also reign. The market of Krakow cannot be always open for one and always closed for the other."

Cardinal of Cologne Hoffner remarked after the surprise conclave that the election of this pope is an acknowledgement that Poland has remained steadfast throughout many years of dictatorship. Indeed, Cardinal Wyszynski is readily celebrated in the West as the man who put up a bold front against the communists. Yet actually the legend about the militant Polish Catholicism must undergo considerable diminution if one is to adhere to historical truth.

In Catholic Poland, not fights and religious fanaticism but rather tolerance has prevailed over the centuries.

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During the Middle Ages the Polish Republic of nobles was a place of refuge for Christian "heretics" and Jews who were threatened by the state in Western Europe. Even the Reformation was not fought out with the sword. Protestants of every hue had a secure hostel there.

Only after Prussia, Russia and Austria had divided the land among themselves at the end of the 18th century did the church become militant. It defended Polish culture against every attempt at germanization and russification. While the new lords attempted to extinguish the Polish language, the Polish priests secretly taught the children the Lord's Prayer in the outlawed native tongue.

Some 150 years later, as Hitler invaded the land and wanted to extirpate the intelligentsia, the church again stood by the patriots. Polish Catholics fought in resistance groups against the hated occupying forces. 2,500 Polish priests died in German concentration camps.

Among the men who had to tremble before the Germans was Karol Wojtyla. At the beginning of the war he was 19 years old and had just begun his philosophy studies in Krakow. As the Germans came he quickly sought some employment in order to receive a "work stamp" from the occupation forces, because whoever did not have it could expect to be deported to a camp at any time. It happened to thousands of students in Krakow. The entire faculty of the university was moved to Sachsenhausen.

Wojtyla worked first in a quarry and later in the "Solvay" chemical plant. After work he acted in a theater group which he had joined in 1938 and which had to disappear into the underground because the rulers, whose representative Governor General Hans Frank resided in the Krakow Castle, had closed all theaters immediately. In spite of this, giving its programs in back rooms the troupe had seven opening performances by the end of the war. There also existed a seminary for priests in the underground. In 1943 Wojtyla became one of the five seminary students.

His father and his 14-year-older brother died during the war. Wojtyla lost his mother at the age of 9. In 1946 he was ordained priest.

After the war, when the new Polish borders were drawn, the Catholic Church underwent an unexpected consolidation. The Orthodox Poles in the east now belonged to the USSR, and the Catholic Poles were resettled in the deserted areas of the west. A state was formed in which 90 percent of the population was Catholic for the first time in Polish history.

State and Church Form an Agreement on Goals

From the beginning, communists and Catholics show a readiness to live with each other. While the Cold War is spreading and, in 1949, Pius XII excommunicated everyone who defends or spreads communist teaching, an agreement

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on mutual recognition is signed between the state and the church in Poland a year later. The church supports Poland's claim to the Oder-Neisse border. It promises to follow the "Polish raison d'etat" in all things which do not concern questions of religious belief. In return, the communist state guarantees the free practice of religion and religious education in the public schools.

Without seeking permission from Rome, the primate of Poland, Archbishop Wyszynski, signs on behalf of the church. There is no doubt in the mind of either of the parties in this business: a Pole--whether atheistic or Christian--is nevertheless an ardent patriot.

Yet the agreement deceives. At the height of Stalinism, Wyszynski is arrested in 1953 and is finally interned in a monastery. The 1956 worker uprisings bring Wladyslaw Gomulka to power and the archbishop to freedom. During the following months Wyszynski cautions the aroused Polish population to preserve peace. From a sermon in December 1956: "We have had enough conflagration in our fatherland. We want peace, religious and social....With peaceful work one should build a better destiny for the fatherland, a better house." It is certainly also to his credit that no Russian tanks roll in Warsaw. State and church sign another agreement on goals.

In the Tabernacle, a Piece of Moon Rock From the Americans

Yet neither side gave up its ideological claim. In a suburb of Krakow the party began to build an industrial settlement which, according to the designers, was to be the first "socialist town without God." On the empty center square a community house was to be erected. However, one day the workers erected a wooden cross and demanded that a church be built. The party did not yield. A squad was moved in to put an end to the Christian annoyance. The result was bloody demonstrations, with the police using clubs and tear gas. The cross remained.

The authorities were bombarded ceaselessly by petitions to build a new church. The archbishop of Krakow died over it, and a new one came in 1964. Karol Wojtyla. In 1967 the state gave in and issued the building permit. In 1976 Archbishop Wojtyla turned the first sod and laid the cornerstone, a square stone from St. Peter's Dome in Rome. A year later he could consecrate the church. In the tabernacle is a piece of moon rock presented by the Americans. The new church accommodates 5,000 people. On Sundays, 12 Masses are read, all well attended.

But the Catholic Church is concerned not only about religious freedom. It also demands the observance of human rights. It is also simultaneously working to enhance the national consciousness of the Poles for their communist state. When in the summer of 1976 the workers protested because food prices were to be raised, Cardinal Wyszynski rebuked the regime from the pulpit: "It is sad that in a workers state the workers have to fight for their rights." But he also said: "We fight neither against the regime nor against the government... Our entire love belongs, after God, to the country, to Poland."

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It is no coincidence that a political hunger strike seeking release of the workers who participated in the disturbances of June 1976 was held in St. Martin's Church in Warsaw. However, despite all its support, the church here, too, avoided inciting the strikers against the state. This has always been the mutual conviction of the cardinals from Krakow and Warsaw.

The new pope is indeed different from Wyszynski in his perception that the church cannot answer with the old dogmas alone the challenges of the modern world. John Paul II will therefore press to make the church more authentic and more resolved to represent the rights of the oppressed and underprivileged.

The cardinal of Krakow also did not shrink from attacking the Marxist concept of "alienation" of man from his work. The discussion with atheistic ideology is a challenge which theology must not evade.

Such an attitude means renunciation of coverups and timidity. It is thus to be expected that the pope from Poland will give new impulse to the dormant dialogue between the Catholic Church and Marxism. For Karol Wojtyla, as for all his countrymen, this openness toward the problems of our times goes together effortlessly with an intensive and unassailable faith which, to the west of Poland, is found only in Ireland today.

The Bishops Should Be Allowed a Stronger Voice

This faith makes John Paul II a conservative theologian. On many questions where Catholics hope for a change--celibacy, the lack of equal rights for women, birth control--the cardinal from Krakow will not deviate from the traditional teachings of the Church. However, innovations will be made on another important point. In his first speech John Paul II announced that the bishops will have the right to a decisive voice in the church in the future.

The Catholic Church in Poland has accomplished something unusual during the past decades. It ventured to live together with an atheistic power without making bad compromises and without becoming untrustworthy for its members. Every Sunday it has 70 percent of all Catholics in the churches, and there are 5,000 prospective priests in the seminaries. John Paul II, the son of the Polish nation, brings with himself to Rome an experience which can only be useful to the church at the end of the 20th century.

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POLAND

CHURCH-STATE DIALOGUE IN POLAND REVIEWED

Stuttgart OSTEUROPA in German No 10, Oct 78 pp 881-891

[Article by Karl Hartmann (1923), Dr. Phil., Head of the Poland Editorial Office of Deutschlandfunk, Cologne: "Dialogue Between State and Church in Poland"]

[Text] A dialogue is under way between State and Church in Poland. It has grown especially lively following the meeting between Cardinal Primate Stefan Wyszyński and the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR), Edward Gierek, for a talk on 29 October 1977 at the Sejm [parliament] building, at which apparently an understanding was reached that the two sides were going to cooperate under certain circumstances on some problems. Cardinal Wyszyński has held out the prospect of help to Gierek in those areas where the welfare of the Polish people and the future of the country are concerned. This was also to be inferred from the very brief communique which appeared in Polish newspapers after the meeting. In this, there is talk about the "unity of the Poles" and the "well-being" of the country, but not about the Party or about the building of socialism (TRYBUNA LUDU, 31 October/1 November 1977). No one will dispute that even with this qualification, it is still a matter of support for the present government.

The Church in Poland has repeatedly helped the communist government. Immediately after his accession to power, Gierek was the beneficiary of such support. Through its moderating and friendly attitude, the Church gave him quite substantial help in pouring oil on the troubled waters of the disturbances and discontent after the bloody December events of 1970 in the Polish coastal cities, and in directing life in this country along peaceful paths. A good part of the standing which Gierek and his colleagues enjoyed right at the beginning with the Polish people they owed to the Church (see K. Hartmann: "State and Church After the Power Change in Poland," in: OSTEUROPA, 2/1972, pp 118-124). But it has furnished help to Gierek in order to ward off from the people even worse things, and it has supported him because he immediately sought an easing of the State's relations with the Church and offered to it prospects of considerable concessions. At that

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time as well, a talk on a high level took place. The primate met on 3 March 1971 with the new chairman of the Council of Ministers, Piotr Jaroszewicz. They negotiated about the "normalization" of relations with the Church being aimed at by the State, which would supposedly benefit both sides. The unusual thing about the meeting in October 1977 was that at this meeting the top representatives of the State and Church sat opposite one another. The last talk on such a level took place many years ago, between the cardinal and Wladyslaw Gomulka, whom the primate had helped in 1956, like he did Gierek in 1970/71--and also not without concessions by the State--to make the necessary adjustments, because he wanted to prevent more dangerous developments, above all an intervention from the outside. No wonder that people--above all in the West--were inclined to attach great importance to the meeting between Gierek and Cardinal Wyszynski in terms of the future development of the relations between State and Church. Here there seemed to be more in the offing in the way of dialogue and cooperation than in some respects has been the prior practice ever since Gierek's accession to power.

"Scolding" to State's Leaders

To be sure, the two sensational pastoral letters delivered shortly before this meeting did not yet hint at such a development, at least as far as the Catholic Church is concerned. In September 1977, on the occasion of the "Mass Media Day," the Polish bishops very clearly and with marked pointedness voiced their displeasure at the mass media of their own country, from which they are extensively cut off. In this letter, they were characterized as a tool of absolute dictatorship for the purposes of exerting cultural pressure, the spreading of lies, and the justifying of violations against the basic rights of the people.

The Church attacked in this pastoral letter not only the radio, television, and press, but also the movies, theater, and the advertising media, which it sees as being without exception in the service of a militant atheism and an ideology which is hostile to all religions, and thus also to the Catholic Church. Therefore in this pastoral letter the Church called on the people to assume a critical attitude towards the communist mass media of the country and to protest whenever through them good morals are offended against and religion and the Church are attacked. The Church sees in particular a threat to children and young people, and it therefore called on the authorities responsible for the control of the mass media to put a stop to everything which could offend against the religious feelings of the faithful and the principles of Christian morality. In their pastoral letter on "Mass Media Day," the Polish bishops expressed the request that the Church be given access to the radio and television so that the Holy Mass could be broadcast for sick and bedridden people. But since they apparently do not believe that this request will be granted--at least in the short run--they recommended to the faithful the programs

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of the Vatican in the Polish language, as a counterweight as it were to the harmful influence of the mass media in their own country. The Polish bishops and Cardinal Primate Wyszynski are never squeamish when it comes to making known to the organs of the State their opinion, but in this pastoral letter it again became especially clear how self-assuredly and unequivocally they were able to do this.

A scant 10 days later, at the end of September 1977, Cardinal Wyszynski lashed out in a pastoral letter--which on 2 October was read from all the pulpits--at the economic circumstances in Poland. In considering the prolonged supplies crisis, he denounced the conditions prevailing in the foodstuffs sector. There was in Poland "no other area which showed such a gross heaping up of debasement and degradation," declared the primate. And he demanded that the State should export food only when the needs of its own population in this sector were satisfied. However the bishops did not confine themselves to speaking up for the material welfare of the population. In the same pastoral letter, they called on the people to put up a resolute resistance if in the educational plan for the youth the national culture, its literature and art, its Christian morals, and the bonds between Poles and the Christian Church are jeopardized. At the same time the bishops energetically protested against a foreignization of Poland, against cultural and spiritual imports which are foreign to the nature of Poland. "Our national dignity demands," it reads, "that we oppose the arrogance with which everything which is Polish is ruthlessly renounced in favor of imports which are alien to us." It is not difficult to guess that Soviet imports are meant here. Of much more interest in this statement is the fact that with this the Church in Poland once again signifies how much it feels itself to be both the defender and the custodian of the national and Christian culture of Poland.

The State on the Defensive

However much this way the Church has of criticizing domestic conditions in a communist country may make a sensation in the West, in Poland itself this has had a far less sensational effect, as is true also of the similarly sharply formulated criticism in the past. The party was not particularly affected by this and steered clear of any serious conflict with the Church. This is characteristic of the present situation in Poland. The State is on the defensive, and it puts up with a lot so as to not forfeit the chance for support by the Church in the difficult domestic situation. Not only does it need this aid in view of the economic situation, but it would also like to be sure of as neutral an attitude as possible on the part of the Church in case the increasing domestic unrest and the various different civil rights movements--which are in no way sustained by the intellectuals alone--should compel it to resort to more ruthless means than it wants to employ, above all in view of its cultivating of its image in the West.

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The party knows that the Church does not hesitate to stand behind those against whom the organs of the State are proceeding with violence and with disdain for the most basic of civil rights, even those rights vested in the country's Constitution. The Church does this above all where it is a matter of demonstrating its solidarity with the broad masses of the people. After the December disturbances in 1970 for example, it left no doubts about who in its opinion was to be regarded as responsible for the bloodshed in the coastal cities (see K. Hartmann: "State and Church After the Power Change in Poland," in OSTEUROPA, 2/1972, pp 121-123).

Thus it was also natural for the Church to support the workers from Ursus and Radom who were imprisoned, ill-treated, and discriminated against because they responded by strikes to the announced price rises for food in June 1976. The Polish Episcopate addressed in July a petition to the government in which it spoke up for the affected workers. Following that, in letters and statements the bishops repeatedly demanded that those in power grant amnesty and reparations (see DZIENNIK ZWIAZKOWY, Chicago, 30 September 1976). At the same time, they called on the people to give material aid to the families of the workers who had lost their jobs and had been imprisoned (DZIENNIK POLSKI, London, 23 November 1976). With that, they effectively supported the actions of the "Workers Defense Committee" (KOR), although they did not expressly identify themselves with these actions in order to avoid any appearance of activity directed against the State. This is characteristic. The Church in Poland is anxious to steer clear of everything which could expose it to the charge of political commitment directed against the governmental power.

Meanwhile, this has not prevented Cardinal Wyszynski from calling for an understanding for the youth of Poland in his homily on Ascension Day, 1977, at St. Ann's Church in Warsaw in connection with the student demonstrations following the mysterious death of the student Stanislaw Pyjas in May of the same year--without going into the external circumstances of this occasion. For a youth which, as the cardinal said, is fully aware of human rights and which often reflects by its attitude the mood in the country. With that, he joined together both a demand and a piece of advice: In its dealings with young people, the government ought to cultivate other methods and should even be ready to ease off on them.

Gierek Needs Successes

The meeting between party chief Gierek and Cardinal Primate Wyszynski in October 1977, which doubtless was prepared for on both sides for a fairly long time in advance, was not upset either by such admonitions or by the "scolding" in the two pastoral letters appearing shortly before this. The State had no other choice than to attempt to come to terms with the Church. In the period of time before this, there was no lack of indications of how much it was anxious to establish

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a good climate--beginning with a generous administering of the permits for new church buildings, and extending to the praise which the head of the Office for Religious Questions, Kazimierz Kakol, lavished on the Church in a talk with Western journalists in the middle of July 1977, for its loyal attitude in a dispute with the State. On the same occasion, he vouched for its sense of responsibility for what goes on in the country, and he spoke about many problems in connection with which the State and Church are pursuing the same objectives--for example, in the education of a spiritually decent youth.

What is going on in this country was certainly the main theme of the last talk between Wyszynski and Gierek. The miserable economic situation, the discontent and disillusionment of the populace, which wants to see changes made, the civil rights movements within the country under the banner of the "spirit of Helsinki"--all of this made it seem advisable to seek aid from the Church and from the most popular and esteemed man in Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski. But there was yet another reason why Gierek put so large a value on a talk with the cardinal. In the very near future, both of them, the party chief and the primate, were to travel to Rome in order to be received in audience by Pope Paul VI.

There would have been nothing unusual about the trip of Wyszynski--he was traveling with 30 bishops to give the report due every 5 years--if he had not had the talk with Gierek shortly before this and was expected at the Vatican at the same time as this person. It was different with the Polish party chief. It was to be the first reception with the pope of a Polish communist of such a high rank. From this fact alone he set great hopes in it, coming as he did from a country such as Poland whose Catholic population has to go along if he is to cope with the present difficulties and with that also strengthen and secure his position. He needs such a success. Added to this was the fact that Gierek wanted on this occasion to quite decisively advance, if not consummate altogether, an undertaking which he had started on very energetically right after his accession to power and whose success meant a great deal to him. This had to do with the so-called "normalization" of relations between the Polish State and the Vatican--that is, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Gierek knew how important that could be for his domestic policy and vis-a-vis the Church. Since he would have preferred to establish this connection over the heads of the Episcopate, and since certain initial moves in that direction were visible, the Episcopate intervened energetically and, as it now appears, successfully. Its motto goes: First normalization--that is, better opportunities for activity and development for the Catholic Church in Poland--and only after that regular relations between Poland and the Vatican. The party chief knew well that without the support of the primate he could accomplish nothing at all or only very little on this matter. No doubt he sought to secure this aid in the sensational talk with the primate, at which time

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it was surely again made clear to him that the Polish Episcopate considered that the time for the establishment of intergovernmental relations with the Vatican had not yet come. Nevertheless, this talk had without a doubt smoothed over certain rough spots for the party chief on his way to Rome and in Rome itself.

Wyszynski and Gierek at the Vatican

This becomes clear among other ways also from what one knows about Gierek's reception with the pope. The conversation apparently took place in a relatively friendly atmosphere, 14 days after Cardinal Wyszynski, first alone and then with the Polish bishops, had been received by the pope. What the party chief talked about at the Vatican corresponds entirely to what he was liable to have heard many times before from the lips of the primate and for the sake of which the latter has always struggled and continues to struggle in Poland. Pope Paul VI assured the guest of his love for Poland and in the process emphasized the will of the Polish people to preserve their national identity (see the text on page A 640 f. of this issue).^{*} He spoke of the history of Poland, which was permeated by the Christian spirit, and Poland's faithfulness to the Holy See. The pope seems to have considered well his wording when he stated that Poland at the present maintained its connection to the Holy See through the Episcopate and the Polish people. At this point it was supposedly explained to the party chief that even the contact with the Vatican desired by him was possible only through the intervention and under advisement of the Polish Episcopate. As Cardinal Wyszynski always did, Pope Paul VI also stressed that the Catholic Church in Poland always stood in the service of the Polish nation and thus never undertook anything against the nation--something with which the party had not seldom reproached it in the past. And it was doubtless entirely in line with the designs of the Polish Episcopate when the pope said that the Church in Poland was ready today as well to make a positive contribution in the country's life: Through education, through stressing the principles of social and occupational ethics, and through cooperation for the welfare of the fatherland. And when he said that it did not expect any privileges from the State, wanting only to preach the gospel and not to pursue politics, but that it insisted on the preservation of its identity and needed more leeway and greater freedom than hitherto for its work.

There is no doubt that Gierek heard also in other respects little else at the Vatican than what he had already learned in his own country from the Polish bishops. It was confirmed to him on the part of the highest authority of the Catholic Church that the Church in Poland is ready for cooperation with the State on certain points and under specific circumstances. He certainly also learned that the Vatican is not

^{*}[from: TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 7, 12 Feb 78; Stefan Wyszynski: "The Spirit of the Gospel in the Organization of Socio-Professional and Public Life in Poland"--homily preached in the Arch-Cathedral Basilica in Warsaw on 6 Jan 78]

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disinclined to "normalize" its relations with the Polish State, but that this presupposes further concessions by the Polish State to the Church in Poland, and thus the normalization of their reciprocal relations--precisely what Cardinal Wyszynski again and again characterizes as a condition for this.

Nevertheless, Gierek can put down as a success for himself and the party the reception with the pope. Both the party chief and the primate met with encouragement for this new phase of dialogue. In Rome, people are convinced that this will not lead to any compromises in Poland which are poor from their point of view. The best guarantor of that is the primate himself. But even in view of his age--he is 77 years old--such doubts cannot arise when one considers the attitude of the Polish Episcopate and of the presumable successor to Wyszynski, Cardinal Karol Wojtyla of Krakow.

Cardinal Wyszynski Makes Stipulations

In his homily on 8 January 1978--that is, a month after the talk with Pope Paul VI, Cardinal Wyszynski summarized quite precisely how and under what prerequisites he envisages increased cooperation between Church and State on certain matters. The Church would like above all to work on a way of correcting the attitude of the people. The Cardinal spoke of moral and ethical deformities, by which is meant above all employee morale and the fundamentally negative relations to the State and its institutions, but also the plague of alcoholism--which he sees as a legacy from the time of the Polish partitions and the wartime occupations, as well as from "diverse situations" (see page A 641 of this issue)**--and among these deformities are certainly to be understood also the stresses of relations to the State in the post-war period. In his homily, the cardinal demanded that there be an "authentic" Catholic press as well as other opportunities to publish, which ought to help the Church fight against deep-rooted failings among the Polish people. He called for more freedom for the Church and requested the revival of former Catholic associations and brotherhoods. The demand for an "authentic" press has its special motivation. The cardinal wanted to thereby express the opinion that the publications of the "progressive-Catholic" PAX Organization which enjoy the support of the State, including the only Catholic daily paper SLOWO POWSZECHNY, cannot be looked on as such a press.

It goes without saying that such help as is here offered by the Church must be very important to the State, the more so as the cardinal also means by this employee morale and vocational ethics, because here the party as well feels obliged to deplore great defects which are much to the detriment of the national economy. But the price which is to

**[from TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 7, 13 Feb 78; homily preached in the Arch-Cathedral Basilica in Warsaw on 6 Jan 78 by Stefan Wyszynski: "The Spirit of the Gospel in the Organization of Socio-Professional and Public Life in Poland"]

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be paid for this help must seem high to it, because as a prerequisite for this aid the Church expects a considerable improvement of religious life in the country. Only on the basis of the Christian and national culture, which one must be ready to defend, can such a job be performed, said the cardinal. The preaching of the gospel, concerning which now everybody realizes that even in the social-economic sphere and in working life it is necessary, must not be interfered with by politically motivated atheistic propaganda and excessive antipathy to the Church.

No Claim to Political Power

But, he said, above all this requires that young people be educated in the spirit of national and religious ideals. In Poland, in the area of contact of two antagonistic ideologies, it appears to the cardinal to be the task of the Church to shape the moral and spiritual countenance of the people. In doing this the Church is not striving for political power, assured the cardinal, and it does not want to be a State within the State. Even if the Church were to achieve the character of a public-law institution, for which the Polish Episcopate has labored for some time, the Church does not want to be an establishment with any political weight, declared Wyszynski. And he assured the State that the Church would not misuse its new status and would not represent any danger to the existing political order in Poland.

It is difficult to imagine that these assurances have adequately reassured the leaders of the State. The claim of the Church to the shaping of the moral and spiritual attitude of the Polish people and the education of the youth in the spirit of national and religious ideals can scarcely be compatible with the understanding the party has about its role as the educator of the people. The Polish bishops last repeated this claim very clearly in a pastoral letter which was read in all the churches in May 1978. They demanded a presentation of national culture and history in the schools and mass media which would be in line with the Christian tradition of Poland, and they complained that this was not taking place in school programs and textbooks. At the same time, the Polish bishops stated that the Christian parents--thus at least 90 percent of all parents--had the right to have their children presented with an undistorted version of the national history and culture--that is, without a disavowal of the services of the Church. The assurance of Cardinal Wyszynski that the Church was not striving for political power, however sincerely that may be meant, cannot dispel the doubts of the party, because the Church already represents today a very important political factor in Poland. If that were not the case, the State would certainly not be negotiating with it. Every strengthening of the position of the Church through further concessions, every expanding of its field of action and improvement in its role--and the demands of the Church amount to that--must automatically entail an increase in its influence even on political life in this country, and that is something which the party would understandably like to prevent to the best of its ability.

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The answer of the party to the remarks of Cardinal Wyszynski was not long in coming. Just as publicly as he did, it announced that it was interested in a dialogue with the Church and in cooperation with it. In an article entitled "Fundamentals of Cooperation and Dialogue," its author Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski directly referred to the homily of the primate of 8 January 1978, which he characterized as a document of fundamental importance (see his remarks in particular on page A 643 ff. of this issue).***

National Front of State and Church

Rakowski justifies in his article the special interest of the State in a cooperative effort with the Church by the conception of Edward Gierek on the unification of all Poles for the purpose of pursuing positive goals--that is, the conception of a national front of the party with the Church for the purpose of achieving objectives which seem to the State to be beneficial. On the wishes of the Church, Rakowski states on behalf of the party that among them are also those which cannot be granted because they go against the principle of the separation of State and Church. By that is probably meant above all the request of the Church for the status of a public-law institution. But also many other demands of the Church may fall within this, according to whatever it is that the party sees as incompatible with this separation. There is another portion of the wishes and demands of the Church which the party would like to fulfill, although that will depend on the good behavior and the readiness of the Church for cooperation. Rakowski declares straight out that the realization of many of the requests of the Church will depend on how its attitude will be toward efforts and undertakings which are of benefit to the entire people and are directed by the State and the government (see in this connection particularly page A 644 f. of this issue).**** And he affirms that the party will oppose the wishes of the Church in all areas where their compliance could render more difficult the performing of the historical mission of the party. With that, the limits are quite clearly traced.

According to Rakowski, the party attaches great importance to the clearing up of one misunderstanding. He says that the Church cannot demand that the State supervise compliance with many rules of religious

***[from: Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 25 Mar 78; article by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: "Fundamentals of Cooperation and Dialogue"]

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life and also repress atheistic propaganda, even where it spreads positive values of the materialistic ideology, while at the same time the Church itself strives to expand as much as possible its scope for the preaching of its fundamental religious doctrines. Here, he says, it is the State and not the Church which must insist on "tolerance." At this point it becomes quite clear how strongly the party feels driven onto the defensive with its ideology. Under such prerequisites, a positive dialogue cannot develop, states Rakowski. Discussions and controversial arguments between Marxists and Catholics in Poland which are conducted in the spirit of tolerance are apart from this felt by the party to be beneficial, because--according to Rakowski--among other things by means of these, unnecessary misunderstandings with respect to the relations between a socialist State and the Church are removed, by which he doubtless means first and foremost the basically negative attitude of the Catholic people vis-a-vis such relations. The miscarried attempt to build a national Church of consequence and the fiasco of the "social-progressive" Catholics in Poland show this quite clearly. We also learn from the rejoinder of this prominent Marxist in what spheres the cooperation between Marxists and Catholics is most desired by the State. In this connection there are no surprises. He names in first place the material living conditions of the populace, by which he means the economic difficulties in the country, which the State's leaders would like to overcome with the support of the Church.

No Capitulation to the Church

It does not come easy to the party to conduct this dialogue with the Church under the pressure of its demands and requests, and the party finds it difficult to enlist its cooperation in various different areas and to have to tolerate its authority. This was expressed by the head of the Office for Religious Questions, Kazimierz Kakol, in a talk with journalists and functionaries of the party in May 1976. If he spoke of the shame which he feels when communists from other countries ask him why the churches in Poland are so packed, or when guests from the West compliment him because the Church in Poland is allowed to develop so well, he thus makes it clear by this on the one hand what an oppressive feeling the vitality of the Catholic Church in their country gives to ardent and committed communists in Poland, and on the other hand also how much they are exposed for this reason to the pressure of communists from other countries, who often cannot or will not understand the special situation in Poland. Kakol therefore felt called upon to reassure the critics and doubters, who of course exist even in the ranks of his own party, and to assure them of the firmness of the party leadership. He spoke of an unrelenting battle against the Church despite outward peace, and of a normalization of relations between State and Church in which there will be no concessions and no capitulation.

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The party does not of course contemplate any capitulation, but without concessions to the Church it will not achieve its objective, and it had to make such concessions even after Kakol's speech--for example, in 1977 it had to permit more new church buildings than in the previous years. From the remarks of Kakol before journalists and functionaries of the party, the path also becomes visible which the party wants to take in its fight with the Church. If the Church cannot be destroyed, it must by its isolation be prevented from doing damage to the socialist State--that was the quintessence of the statement of his which was quoted by the French "Documentation Catholique" (DZIENNIK POLSKI, London, 25 May 1976). The party is wagering that in the long run time is on its side, even if it also admits that Poland will remain a Catholic country for a very long time yet.

There is little reason to doubt that in these remarks, which were not intended for the general public, Kakol has interpreted the true attitude of the party with respect to its relationship to the Church. It would presumably like, to the best of its ability, to isolate the Church even more and to take away its influence above all over the young people. But it is just this isolation which the Church wants to prevent, and this is the main purpose of its present dialogue with the State.

The efforts of the Church to obtain significant new concessions have for the time being still been unsuccessful. Nevertheless, the State will continue on with the dialogue which is so promising to the Church, so long as it corresponds to its interest. That is no particularly solid basis, but it is comforting to the Church to know that there is little reason to believe that the State could very soon lose this interest.

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